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Tisler, C.C., and Aleita G. Tisler.

Lincoln Was Here (for Another Go at Douglas).

# LINCOLN ROOM

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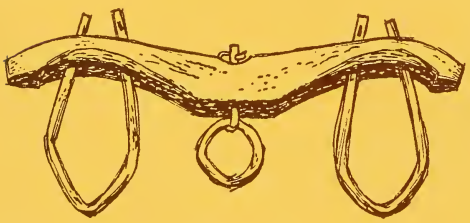

# MEMORIAL

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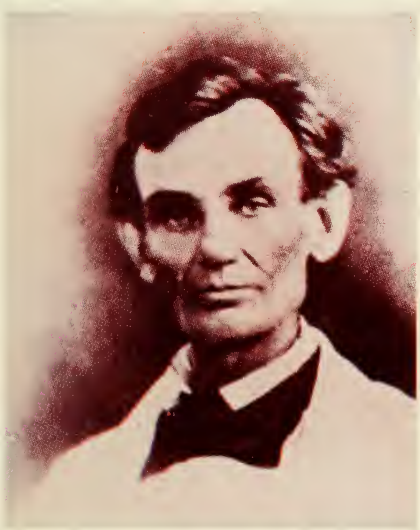
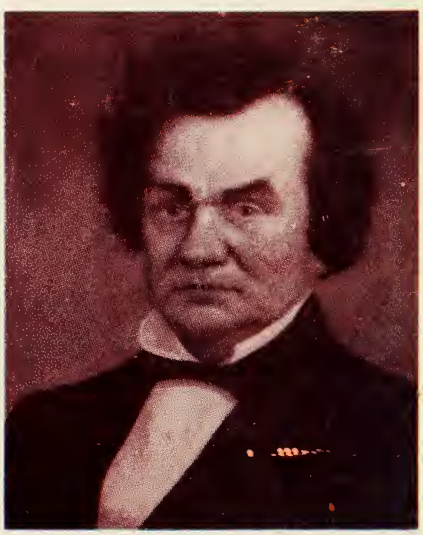
# Lincoln Was Here

*(for another Go at Douglas)*





*By:* C. C. Tisler and Aleita G. Tisler
OTTAWA, ILLINOIS

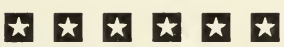
Last survivors of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, so far as known, taken in July 1950. Left, Mrs. Fannie Barber, then 94, of Sheridan, a small town 20 miles from Ottawa. She rode on her mother's lap in the Douglas parade in which her father and an older brother, John Armstrong, then 15, also took part.

Right, Morris Lewis of Marseilles who was six months old when the debate took place and who also rode with his mother. Mrs. Barber and Mr. Lewis both died in September 1952 within a few days of each other.

The home of Mayor J. O. Glover, 810 Columbus Street, who was host to Lincoln at the time of the debate. It passed from the hands of the Glover family and was made into an apartment house. Its red brick construction was covered with shad belly gray stucco. The house was marked with a bronze plaque in 1938 by Illini Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

# Lincoln Was Here

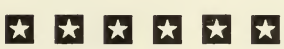
*for another Go at Douglas*



*By*

C. C. Tisler and Aleita G. Tisler

Ottawa, Illinois



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## PROLOGUE

Low rolling thunder on a hot summer day forecasts always the gathering of the black clouds, the yellow shimmer of wind on the horizon and the coming of the storm that sweeps all before it and leaves in its wake only destruction, the ruin of crops and the wreckage of homes.

So the rumble of oratory that echoed over the prairies of Illinois in the late summer of 1858 presaged the coming of the storm of sorrow and sadness, of broken homes, of a nation torn by internal strife and filled only with agony and with anguish.

But as a just and merciful God sends the calm after the storm, to heal the wounds it has left so the storm over the prairies came to an end in the chill days of the fall of '58 and so the same merciful and forebearing Providence spared the nation from destruction so that mankind could again pick up its burden of free government not only in our own land but in all others for all time to come.

## GLUTTONS FOR PUNISHMENT

Our fathers were gluttons for punishment.

Political speeches that lasted four hours were common to them. Then the orators took time out to rest and for lunch while others took up the cudgels against the party in power.

Such was the case when Stephen A. Douglas, at the age of twenty-seven, was laying the groundwork for his campaign for election to congress on the Democratic ticket.

Douglas was seeking the first rung on the political ladder. In Springfield, Abraham Lincoln was struggling to establish a law practice, after serving in the Illinois General Assembly, to which he had been elected when he was only twenty-five years old.

The Illinois *Free Trader,* the first issue of which was published in Ottawa on May 23, 1840, took note of the presence of Douglas in the city, on October 25, 1840. He tried out his oratorical wings in the second county court house, which for many years stood at the south end of LaSalle street, but was torn down in 1936. The *Free Trader* story of the presence of Douglas in the city was as follows, and is written in the characteristic style of that period when politics were discussed:

"GREAT MEETING OF THE DEMOCRACY OF LASALLE.

"On Monday, the 25th inst., agreeably to previous notice, the people assembled in the court house in Ottawa. The meeting was organized by Joel Strawn, president; H. P. Woodworth, Charles Hayward, Michael Canady, Asa Mann, William Stadden and General McClasky, vice-presidents, and William Chumasero and Michael Ryan, secretaries.

"Stephen Douglas, the Democratic candidate for congress, being introduced to the meeting, took the stand amid the reiterated cheers and cries of welcome from the audience.

"He proceeded to show up the Whig party in no enviable light. He exposed their falsehoods and mannerisms. He reviewed the history

of the party, the part these prominent leaders have taken in the opposition to the true principles of democracy, and in one of the most able, argumentative, speeches that we have ever listened to he enchained the audience for upwards of four hours, portraying the truth and beauties of the democracy and exposing the deformities and evils of federalism so as to carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. He was listened to by a large crowd of intelligent farmers with that attention which showed that they understood and appreciated the truths and principles he advanced.

"He closed with a most eloquent and stirring appeal that seemed to fire the soul and nerve the arm of every Democrat for the contest. He resumed his seat amid the loud and long applause of an enraptured audience.

"After an adjournment of an hour, Mr. Wentworth, the talented and facetious editor of the *Chicago Democrat,* took the stand, and in a speech of more than three hours' length, unfolded such a mass of facts and showed so clearly the pernicious tendencies of the Whig doctrines, and illustrated so beautifully the happy tendencies of the eternal principles of democracy that no one could longer doubt the true party for every friend of his country to pursue.

"He exposed the humbugs, the follies and the absurdities of the federal Whig party in such an amusing way as to keep the audience in a constant roar of laughter. His eloquent appeal to the Democracy of LaSalle awakened feelings that never again will slumber as long as the enemy are in the field; it will long be remembered with feelings of emotion and gratitude.

"After Mr. Wentworth had resumed his seat, Mr. Dodge made a few eloquent and pertinent remarks, and the meeting adjourned.

"This had been one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings we have had in old LaSalle. The farmers came pouring in until the court house was a 'complete jam.' The real Democracy of the county is aroused. They are rising in indignation against the party which has so little respect for their intelligence as to think to gull them by misrepresentation, humbug and falsehoods. They are no longer willing to countenance a party that has not the honesty to avow its sentiments.

"Old Democratic LaSalle is good for six hundred majority for Van Buren. Democracy, the soul, light and life of freedom, is sure to triumph. It will live eternal with American liberty, and upon the perpetuity of its principles depend the happiness and liberties of the American people."

## SOME ROUGH TREATMENT

Steve Douglas got rough treatment from the partisan *Ottawa Republican* when he appeared in Ottawa for a campaign speech September 13, 1854, and to defend his record in congress against his critics. The *Republican* said of his appearance:

"Douglas arrived in Ottawa Tuesday evening and stopped at the Fox River house. Wednesday forenoon he spoke to the members of the county board of supervisors then in session at the court house.

"At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon he appeared on the stand. On motion of Captain Stadden, General Frey was appointed chairman and William Osman and D. P. Jones, secretaries, after which about a dozen men and boys were elected vice-presidents and took their places on the stand.

"Shields Guards fired a shot from their brass cannon to open the meeting.

"His speech was but a repetition of his usual sophism and gross, uncivil language against all who oppose him and whom without discrimination he denounces as Abolitionists.

"He dodged the points at issue—the Nebraska bill in particular. He misstated his grounds of opposition to the bill and then levelled his most powerful efforts against opposition which was the creation of his own idea.

"His speech lasted over two hours during which time there was not a rational point made upon the subject at issue. He misrepresented the opposition and dealt out the epithets accordingly. He assumed premises themselves false and built arguments upon them, endeavoring

to give them the semblance of truth but failed in every particular of making his audience believe them. There was but little enthusiasm exhibited during the speech and we thought the violent exertions of the Little Giant were lost upon the audience and so it will prove."

Then the *Republican* commented sarcastically on an article which had appeared in the LaSalle, Illinois, *Herald* and which read this way:

"The enthusiasm with which everyone meets Judge Douglas in his progress throughout the state reminds us of the triumphs of a Roman general in the times when Rome rewarded the conquerors of its enemies."

Of this eulogy the *Republican* said: "The editor of the *Herald* must be gifted with a creative brain. We saw nothing that looked like a triumphal procession in this city. Mr. Douglas was brought from Morris by a few attendants just at dusk and left in the upper part of the town overnight as Barnum does with Tom Thumb, and the baby elephant to keep the boys from seeing them before the time of exhibition."

Douglas did not know then that he was already whistling in the dark past his political graveyard when he spoke on the court house lawn. August 1, 1854, 500 men had met there, suggested the name Republican be used for a new party, then had adopted resolutions condemning slavery, its extension and fence straddling politicians of all parties. Six years later the new party buried Douglas and his hopes of being elected president.

## SUPPORT AND NON-SUPPORT

T. Lyle Dickey, attorney, future justice of the Illinois State Supreme Court and also destined to be a commander of Union cavalry in the Civil War sat down at his desk at his home on the old north bluff in Ottawa November 19, 1854, and penned a note to his old friend, Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield.

He told Lincoln that he "loved him" and wanted him elected

United States Senator from Illinois in the contest in the general assembly of 1855.

Five weeks later, on Christmas Day 1854, another Ottawan, also an attorney and politician, Burton C. Cook, sat at his desk at his home at 902 Paul street and wrote his old friend, Lincoln, a letter about the coming senatorial campaign of 1855.

But unlike Dickey, Cook was blunt and to the point. He would support an anti-Nebraska Democrat for the senatorship, he told Lincoln, in preference to any one else.

That was a bitter disappointment to Lincoln at Christmas time in particular and coming as it did from a man on whom he may have counted for support in his campaign for the senatorship at a period in state history when the general assembly and not the public at large elected senators.

The letters of Dickey and Cook were among the thousands of items which came to light when the Robert T. Lincoln collection of his father's correspondence was opened in the Library of Congress at Washington in July 1947.

They were among the many letters which passed between Lincoln and a quartet of prominent Ottawans of the period, some of which had not been known before the Robert Lincoln collection was made public. The quartet consisted of Dickey, Cook, Justice John Dean Caton of the State Supreme Court, and General W. H. L. Wallace, attorney and politician. The letters were sent to Lincoln at various places from Ottawa—Springfield, Washington, Peoria, Havana and Chicago.

But back to the opposing sides which Dickey and Cook took in the senatorial campaign of 1855.

Cook was an eastern man—Dickey, a Kentuckian—and both had arrived in Ottawa in its swaddling clothes days to set up law offices and dabble wholeheartedly in politics. Dickey, a Kentucky gentleman of the old school, who had hoed a hard row, had gone bankrupt and spent years repaying his debts and also had freed his slaves. At the same time he looked askance at the more radical Abolitionists then

agitating for the freeing without restrictions of any kind, of the Negroes from slavery.

Dickey in 1842 built his beautiful mansion on the north bluff in Ottawa, now the home of Mrs. Louise McDougal.

Cook was a member of the law firm of Glover, Cook and Campbell, then one of the best in the state. A leading barrister, he also was a Sunday school teacher for a long time and was a member of the ill-starred "peace conference" in Washington in February 1861, which in vain sought some means of averting the coming Civil war at a time when many southern states already had withdrawn from the union and had set up the Confederate States of America.

Such were the vagaries of politics then, for in the senatorial campaign of 1858 in Illinois Dickey went storming through southern Illinois in support of Douglas against Lincoln while Cook, who had declined to support Lincoln for the senatorship in 1855, nine years later mounted the platform at the Union party convention in Baltimore and nominated in less than 30 words, the same Abraham Lincoln for reelection that he had opposed in 1855.

But back again to Dickey and his letter of November 19, 1854, to Lincoln at Springfield, Dickey wrote:

"Hon. A. Lincoln

"Dear Sir:

"I love you and want you to be a U. S. Senator from Illinois but there is no Whig to be elected to the legislature from LaSalle (county).

"Our members are David Strawn, a nephew of old Jacob Strawn of Morgan and Fred S. Day, an eastern man originally and for several years a citizen of Peru—a merchant produce dealer—and more recently a banker, etc. Day is a cute little man without much stamina and like men of his course of life is purely financial. They are both of Locofoco stock.

"I saw Mr. Coffing of Peru and from him learned that Day was probably in favor of Mr. Sweet (who was beaten for congress by Thompson Campbell) for the senatorship. Coffing professed to be for you and I suggested to him to take measures to committ him for you

as a second choice if Sweet's chance failed. He said he would try him. I have, however, very little hope of doing you any good in that quarter, I am sorry to say.

"I am very busy professionally and am not posted on political chances but I sincerely hope you may succeed.

"My good old father now lives in your city and I expect to be there in your city in January and if any phase presents where you think I can serve you don't fail to draw on me. The old gentleman is a genuine old fashioned moderate Kentucky Abolitionist and might be of use to you—with some of the Abolitionists. He is a Presbyterian preacher and perhaps if it is convenient through some of your Presbyterian friends—you better make his acquaintance if you have not.

"I would be glad to hear from you as to the probable "lay of the land" as to your success. I am your friend and find no fault with your veracity.

"T. Lyle Dickey."

The Cook letter that certainly brought no joy to Lincoln at Christmas time of 1854 or brightened his hopes of election to the United States senate follows:

"Dear Sir:

"Absence from home has prevented my replying to your letter. And now I will talk frankly not like a politician but like a candid man. I would prefer the election of an Anti-Nebraska Democrat to that of any other man. With the highest regard and respect for you you will understand me when I say there are some of us who have been proscribed and put under ban, because we did not believe this patent popular sovereignty doctrine to be like old Dr. Jacob Townsend's sasarparilla, valuable even if it killed the patient, who would like to be heard of counsel.

"Yours Truly

"B. C. Cook to Hon. A. Lincoln,

"Springfield, Illinois."

Making his disappointment still greater over his failure of election as senator from Illinois in 1855 Lincoln had been elected to the lower

house of the Illinois general assembly in November 1854, from the Springfield district. He resigned at the suggestion of friends to make the race for senator when it was pointed out to him that his election to the latter office might be challenged if he was also serving as a member of the general assembly at the same time under the state constitution of 1848.

Cook was one of the three die hard members in the state senate in February 1855 who on no account would vote for a Whig (Lincoln).

Their obstinacy proved his undoing and defeated him for the office.

February 8, 1855, the joint session of the Illinois general assembly proceeded to vote a third time for United States senator with Lyman Trumbull winning. He had received 51 votes against 47 cast for Joel A. Matteson and one for an Archibald Williams.

After nine ballots had been taken, Lincoln withdrew from the race and switched his votes to Trumbull in order to defeat Matteson.

Originally Lincoln had entered the race for senator against James Shields, the same Shields who had been his opponent, almost, in a ludicrous episode of 1842 that led to challenges to a duel. Shields had the distinction of serving in the United States senate from two states—Illinois and Minnesota.

## A PARTY BORN

In the fall of 1856 Lincoln took the stump for the Republican ticket of John C. Fremont for president and William L. Dayton for vice-president.

He stumped the length and breadth of the state of Illinois, making in all over fifty speeches, in one day stands, with other orators and those seeking office on the Republican ticket.

Ottawa was on the itinerary of Lincoln and his fellow campaigners, and the rally was held here October 7, in Washington park.

The Chicago *Daily Journal* of October 8 had the following to say of the meeting in Ottawa:

"What Has Caused This Great Commotion?

"Glorious Meeting in Ottawa

"Twenty Thousand in Council

"Lincoln, Lovejoy, Yates, etc.

"Ottawa, October 7.

"Today has been a great and glorious day for old LaSalle. Her freemen gathered in thousands from every hill and valley and came up to honor freedom by their presence and pledge themselves anew to her name.

"Of the many large meetings I have attended in the state the one held here today equalled the best of them in numbers and enthusiasm.

"The crowd is variously estimated. The best idea of the hosts present is to give the number of teams in the procession, which by actual count were nine hundred and seventy-six—one, two, four and six horses, beside the immense throng on foot, which poured into the city by railroads. Three stands were occupied.

"From Stand No. 1. Messrs. Trumbull and Lincoln addressed the people, each of whom made their best speeches. I never listened to more clear, convincing, and effective public speaking. Stand No. 2 was occupied by Messrs. Lovejoy, and Bross. The speeches of both were excellent—that of the former being one of the most eloquent I ever listened to.

"At Stand No. 3 addresses were delivered in German, and judging from the plaudits of the Germans, I should think the speakers had enkindled considerable enthusiasm among their countrymen. Mr. Kreistman, of Chicago, was the principal speaker.

"A free entertainment was given by the citizens of Ottawa, and ample justice was done to their bounteous repast.

"In the evening a large crowd still lingered in town. They were called together at the Court House, where the Hon. Richard Yates enchained them in a burning and impassioned speech of great force.

"Altogether, you may congratulate our friends in LaSalle on the distinguished success of their meeting. It was an era of this glorious campaign.

"Messrs. Lincoln, Lovejoy and Trumbull go from here to attend the grand mass meeting in Joliet tomorrow, from which place you will again hear from

"VERITAS."

Where the *Journal* was laudatory in its story of the meeting at Ottawa the *Free Trader* was gently cynical, and poked fun at the Fusionists and their meeting. Yet today, after the lapse of so many years the mild sarcasm and ridicule that the *Free Trader* heaped upon those who spoke and those who sponsored the meeting remains an accurate and illuminating commentary of the times and of the great day in Ottawa.

The *Free Trader,* in its issue of Saturday, October 11, said of the meeting here:

"The Fusionist Gathering On Tuesday.

"Tuesday was the great day of Fusionism in Ottawa—a day for which the note of preparation had been sounding for the last four weeks. No means of machinery had been neglected to make this the great gathering of the campaign in northern Illinois. A great ox roast and free dinner had been prepared—a splendid pageant in the way of a procession and great orators innumerable to exhort and animate and cheer the drooping spirits of the Fremonters.

"The Democracy, in the view of the immense preparations, commenced in season to brace themselves against the coming tempest, expecting of course to be overawed by the display and lost and swallowed up in the surging masses.

"At length the great and notable day came. Never shone a more benignant sun upon a more beautiful morn. At an early hour flags and streamers innumerable began to span our principle streets and dozens of excited marshals, on prancing steeds, rushed furiously in every direction. Presently a column of dust is seen approaching from the north, and away rush twenty marshals in blue ribbons to greet the

delegates from Newark. Another column approaches from the south, and a dozen marshals rush in that direction. And so on in squads of two, three or a half a dozen of teams, they continue to arrive until noon, when the order proceeds to form the procession. Happily, it is placed in array on Main street directly in front of our office and we can see it. In a hour it is ready and the huge column gets into motion.

"Well, say some Democrats, gathering courage and eyeing the procession askance, 'this is not so great an affair after all. Let's go and count it.'

"They stationed themselves at different points and count, and the following is the result agreed upon by all, without a variance of a dozen, as the procession passed the corner of LaSalle and Madison streets, when it was fullest:

"Vehicles of all sorts—197.

"Men, women and children in wagons and on foot—930.

"Looked like voters—382. But to be liberal we shall concede 200 wagons in the procession and 1200 people of all ages and sizes. There were certainly no more.

"The speakers stand was erected in the new public square (Washington Park) and thither in the afternoon we betook ourselves to see what was going on. At one stand we found Deacon Bross blowing and sweating apparently over some editorial cut from the *Democratic Press.* At another stand Trumbull was telling what he did in the senate, and at a third stand a German was talking. About four o'clock the crowd was largest and we ask some Fusionist, 'How many people do you estimate that are now in the square?' 'Oh, ten or twelve thousand, at least.' 'Well, let's figure on it a little.' So we figure. The square, pretty tightly packed, will hold 25,000 people. Is it half full? No. Is it a quarter full? No. About an eighth? Yes; that is a liberal estimate. So this immense crowd does not exceed 3,000 people, men, women and children. But there are many outside the town. Well, say, 2000 more. That makes the great mass demonstration 5,000 and no more, and we will stake everything on it, did attend the meeting on Tuesday, including Democrats and all.

"But how this world is given to lying. Deacon Bross goes home to Chicago and writes an account of the affair for his paper, *The Press,* and says:

" 'By actual count, there were nine hundred and seventy-six wagons in the procession, many of them four and six teams. The excitement and enthusiasm as it moved through the principal streets were intense. Beside the procession, the city was full of teams, and the intelligent citizens of LaSalle and adjoining counties crowded the streets on every side. The lowest estimate we heard anyone make of the number of persons was from ten to twelve thousand.'

"That will do for a deacon. Nine hundred wagons would make a procession five miles long, enough to fill all the streets in Ottawa east of the Fox River.

"Beside Bross and Trumbull, Lovejoy, Lincoln and Yates were the only speakers. Bissell, although promised on the bill, of course, did not show up."

The *Sentinel* said of the Joliet meeting on October 8, 1856:

"Great Fusion Rally

"2,500,000 Freedom Screechers in Council.

"Last Wednesday was a wonderful day for the niggers and nigger worshippers of this county.

"Our city was literally filled with enthusiastic Fremonters and the vast multitude were troubled to find ground to stand upon. Indeed, it is doubtful if ever as large a number of people were ever assembled together since the world began.

"And the speakers, it is but necessary to mention their names to give an idea of the great oratorical demonstration, Lovejoy, Yates, Norton, 'Nakas,' Trumbull and last but greatest Knud Iverson Bross of the *Chicago Democratic Press* astonished and confounded the countless host with their inspired eloquence.

"There were three stands on the grounds for the speakers; and the one occupied by Owen Lovejoy was blessed with the presence of the "colored population," which proves that the niggers, unlike a certain man, who was elected to office, in this county, by the Democrats,

are not insensible to gratitude. The niggers knew their friends and wenches and all gathered around the 'bressed Lubjoy' with Fremont badges on their necks.

"Lovejoy was the best spokesman on the grounds, 'Nakas,' Trumbull and Abe Lincoln coming in second best."

Bross doubled as a reporter for the *Democratic Press* after making speeches with Lincoln and other members of the Republican troupe in a series of one day stands in Illinois as the new party neared the end of its campaign to elect a president, members of congress and state and local officers.

Fremont carried LaSalle county in his unsuccessful bid for the presidency, polling 3,271 to 2,655 for James Buchanan, the Democratic winner. Fremont carried the county ticket to victory with Burton C. Cook winning for state senator and Washington Bushnell for states attorney in the most important offices. Owen Lovejoy won the election to congress, polling 3,693 votes in the county against 2,738 for Uri Osgood, William Bissell, also a Republican, was elected governor of Illinois.

The *Free Trader* account of the meeting at Ottawa, October 7, 1856 was known to historians, but that of the *Ottawa Republican* was lost, so it appeared, and it was not in its proper place in the file of 1856.

Chance scanning of the file revealed that it had been misplaced in the Republican file for the first week of October 1855.

LaSalle county and Ottawa histories make no mention of this important event in Illinois history, so the newspaper accounts of it are the only source material now known of Lincoln's presence on that day. The Republican account follows:

"A Great Gathering of Fremonters.

"Twelve Thousand in Council.

"Enthusiastic, Successful, Demonstration.

"The Fremont meeting called at this place last Tuesday was a complete success while naturally there is some dispute as to the exact number.

"All, we believe, admit that it is the largest gathering ever held in Ottawa.

"There was a procession, eloquent public speaking, music, and a free dinner, all set down on the program and performed according to the bills. Of course, with limited space at our command, we cannot do more than glance at the prominent points, that presented themselves to our observation.

"The procession under the orders of James Keeler, Esq. Marshal, assisted by numerous corps of mounted aides marched to the splendid music of the Chicago Light Guard band through the principal streets of the city. Numerous delegations from Farm Ridge, New Michigan, Deer Park, Vermillion, South Ottawa, Grand Rapids, Peru, LaSalle, Freedom, Manlius, Mission, Morris and Newark filled in at their appointed places and filled up the ranks of the glorious array. We have various estimates as to the number of wagons, and other vehicles in the procession, some placing it as high as 900 and others lower. We did not count and therefore cannot say how many, but we do know that the procession was large and that it was extensive enough to show that our fellow citizens of the surrounding country side are hand in hand in enthusiasm for the Pathfinder.

"In our notice of the procession, we must like Good Knights, give the precedence to the Ladies. The Blooming Beauties, robed in white, who represented the several states of the union, challenged the regards of all eyes and constituted the best part of the display for lending the charms of their presences on that occasion. They deserve the thanks of the Fremonters of Ottawa. Will the gentlemen, who particularly assisted as their squires please inform his fair friends, that we but echo the general opinion, when we say that the procession, large as it was, marching to the strains of inspiring, martial music, under the waving banners, flashing and floating in the glorious sunlight, would have lacked its chief attraction had their star decorated car, with its blue canopy and spirited horses, that day been wanting its fair freightage.

"Immediately after these rode a lady on horseback clad in deep mourning.

"Young America, with drum and fifes, flags and banners on one side of which was, 'Fremont and Dayton,' on another '10 cents a day, don't pay us,' headed by a boy marshal, on horseback, must not be passed over without notice.

" 'The Ottawa Glee Club' as the procession moved along, sang campaign songs with a precision of execution, which would be a credit to the best glee clubs in the country.

"Proceeding to the ground for speaking, we found three stands erected; two for English and one for German. Around the different stands were placed banners, with mottoes and devices, a few of which we give.

"One man represented a man astride a goose, 'All right with the goose.'

"Another was a buck with a chain around his neck fastened to a padlock, the buck, looking very complacent and apparently well satisfied.

"One device showed a wall with a spike on it. Against the side of it was fastened a scroll on which was, '36.30, Missouri Compromise.' Below was seen a ruthless hand tearing it down. Above the top of the wall was a pair of manacled hands stretched imploringly.

"Another one was 'The Fremonter of Kansas to northern doughfaces—If you refuse your aid in this never so needed help, do not upbraid us with our distress.'

"Another was, 'God made men free before law made them slaves.'

"At the southwest stand W. T. Hopkins, Esq., of Morris was called out by the crowd for a song and gave them one of his rare musical songs, 'Buchaneer any more, sir.'

"Hon. Lyman Trumbull on the questions of the day, exposed and ridiculed sophistries, that have been piled up around them. After him, came the old Whig War Horse, Hon. Abraham Lincoln, who was very happily introduced to the crowd as 'Our next United States Senator.'

"Mr. Lincoln's speech was, as always the case with him, convincing, fair and logical. His argument, showing the political necessity of the Republican movement was unanswerable and his defense of the

party against the charge of disunionism and sectionalism was complete and must have satisfied any fair minded man.

"At the northeast stand Mr. Bross of the *Chicago Democratic Press* made one of his most telling and effective speeches.

"After him, Hon. Owen Lovejoy addressed the crowd in that happy mixture of wit, argument, and pathos and satire for which he is so celebrated.

"At the northwest platform, Mr. Kreiman of Chicago spoke to his Teutonic brethren in a speech which was full of fire, eloquence, and energy, and must have carried conviction to the most of those to whom it was addressed. Messrs. Raub and Singer also spoke in German to good effect. Mr. Gray, also from the same platform, made an English speech which was heartily cheered.

"During the whole time of the speaking persons were passing backwards and forwards beneath the stand and the refreshment tables, where the promise of a free dinner was made good on a most liberal scale.

"Cheering and shouting could be heard from time to time, pealing in thunderous tones of approval, when the speakers made a hit or closed a point, or making the welkin ring with hussahs for Fremont and Dayton, Bissell and Lovejoy.

"Some interruptions of the speakers took place but generally the intruders got the worst of it. Altogether, it affords us great pleasure to be able to say that the meeting thus passed off harmoniously and without any serious disturbance.

"In the evening, after supper, Hon. Richard Yates of Jacksonville spoke to the crowd with his usual happy effect.

"Mr. Bross was again called on and entertained the crowd up to a late hour. This closed the grand Fremont meeting on Tuesday, without, so far as we know, any accident or riot."

## PEN OF PROPHECY

When the editor of the Republican at Ottawa heard the result of the first Republican party convention in 1856 which put up John C. Fremont, "The Pathfinder" for president and a New Jersey politician, William L. Dayton, for vice-president, he wrote a prophetic editorial.

He was disappointed that the vice-presidential nomination had not gone to an Illinois man, Abraham Lincoln, and said so. Then in a prophetic mood he wrote this way, July 4, 1856:

"It is gratifying to the friends of Abraham Lincoln that his name received honorable mention and support as a candidate for the vice-presidency at the Philadelphia convention.

"He is that kind of stuff of those who occupy that office should be made of and in the responses to the nomination made near the close of the convention that fact was alluded to by different speakers. The circumstances that Colonel Fremont for president had been taken from the extreme west was, it is probable, weighed with many in the choice of an eastern man for the vice-presidency and in making the selection, in view of this case they doubtless were wisely guided in that choice to Mr. Dayton, though it would have given us great pleasure had all trifles about the locality of candidates been overlooked and we would have supported Mr. Lincoln for the second office in the gift of the people though we hope some day to vote for him for the first.

"He is among the men who endure"

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## PA AND ABE LINCOLN

His pa and Abe Lincoln were old time friends but political opponents who did not let that fact interfere with their friendship.

Delightfully and in an informal manner Charles Dickey, son of Justice T. Lyle Dickey, set down his recollections of his pa and Abe Lincoln in an autobiography published in 1926, six years before his death in 1932 at the age of 90.

He was a member of the Fourth Illinois cavalry in the Civil war commanded by his father who was for several months chief of cavalry on the staff of General U. S. Grant in the western theater of war.

A fine old gentleman he was one of the last survivors of his Grand Army post as well as one of the last of the boys in blue who went to war with the Fourth Illinois raised at Ottawa in the fall of 1861.

The description that he left of Lincoln as seen through the eyes of a boy is as good and in some cases better than any given by the scores of authors, good, bad and indifferent, who have tried to describe a man that nobody fully knew in depth of soul, patience, ability, mysticism, sadness, and ironbound and inflexible will.

Charley Dickey was born in Ottawa August 12, 1842—and came very nearly, as he tells it, being born in a blackberry patch. His parents had gone to the northwest corner of LaSalle county to pick blackberries and Charles was born a few hours after the family got back to their home on "Propiety Hill" on the north bluff as he called it.

His older brother, Cyrus, who died of wounds received in the Red River Campaign in April 1864 was born in a log cabin in Macomb, where the Dickeys had settled before they came to Ottawa.

After the return of T. Lyle Dickey from Mexican War service in which he was gravely ill for a long period, he soon after was named judge of the circuit courts in northern Illinois, a district that took him from Springfield to the northern end of the state and brought him into contact with Lincoln and Douglas. Those friendships endured until the deaths of both men long before that of Judge Dickey.

Tragedy struck the Dickey family on Christmas Eve 1855 in the death of Mrs. Dickey.

Dickey tells of this sad turn of affairs when he was still a school boy. "Early in December of that year," he wrote, "we received word that our mother was very sick and we were to come home. It was her last illness and she passed away Christmas eve. My recollections of my mother are very vague. I remember I loved her very much and she was very kind to me.

"John was sent back to Oakfield but I was kept at home with my sister Ann. Ann was host in those days and took care of Belle and me

for weeks. Two of pa's friends, Abraham Lincoln of Springfield and David Davis of Bloomington offered each to take a child for a time and the offer was accepted. I was to go to Mr. Lincoln at Springfield and Belle was to go to Judge Davis. When we were ready to go, however, the plans were changed and we were both sent to Bloomington.

"I presume Mrs. Lincoln was taken with one of her attacks of brain trouble and it would not be pleasant to have a boy around. In the spring we returned home after a pleasant winter at the judge's."

Charley Dickey spent the summer at a school near Peru and came back home in the fall of 1856. Soon after, Belle married W. H. L. Wallace and they lived in the little green house on a low bluff on LaSalle street.

The much travelled Dickey family spent the winter of 1856 in Chicago and it was there that the homeliness of Lincoln first struck Dickey.

He was doing the family marketing then and went to the court room, where his father was conducting a case to make a touch off him.

"The lawyer on the other side," Dickey remembered, "was talking and Mr. Lincoln was listening to him. I had never remembered Mr. Lincoln as being especially homely until that day. He was walking up and down the room listening intently; grasping his chin in his hands, he would twist it first one way and then another, causing a very ludicrous effect and not at all handsome."

The Dickeys came back to Ottawa in the summer of 1858 in time for Charles Dickey to take in the Lincoln-Douglas debate, which Dickey describes thusly:

"I heard the debate at Ottawa. An immense crowd assembled in a square where a platform had been erected from which they spoke. Douglas, short, broad, and red-faced, spoke an hour first. Then Lincoln with his lanky six feet five inches, replied for an hour and a half and Douglas replied in an address of a half hour. The contrast between the two men was remarkable. Besides being so dissimilar in physique, Douglas had a deep bass voice which could be heard in the distance, but his enunciation was not distinct and only the crowd

within a hundred feet could understand what he said. Lincoln on the other hand, had a high tenor voice and very distinct enunciation, so he could be heard and understood out to the extreme edge of the crowd.

"Lincoln was my favorite but my father was one of the Douglas followers politically. He stumped the central and southern parts of the state for Douglas during the campaign. Some weeks after the election in which Mr. Lincoln was beaten for the senate by Douglas he came to Ottawa on court business and as usual came to our house. He did not seem to have the slightest feeling toward my father for opposing him in the campaign. I heard him tell pa that it was his work in Central Illinois that had beaten him. I remember that I played chess with him that night and beat him. He and pa were great story tellers and we children always enjoyed Mr. Lincoln's visits for they would get to telling stories to which we listened with open mouths.

"That fall I met Mr. Douglas for the first and last time. It was on the fair grounds in Chicago, I think, at the first world's fair held in America. The race between Flora and Princess Temple was about to be run and I stood by Judge Douglas while it came off. Flora made a world's record by trotting in 2:20.

"Pa and Mr. Lincoln had been political cronies for many years. They had belonged to the "OLD LINE WHIG" party which had gone to pieces after the death of Henry Clay some years before.

"Lincoln had joined the Republican party on its formation but Pa could not find his way clear to do so as he had feared that the large number of Abolitionists in that party might bring on war between the states. Both he and Mr. Lincoln believed in the gradual emancipation of the negroes, the government to stand the loss. For some years, Pa was out of politics but when Douglas started the Conservative Democratic party he joined it as being nearer to what he advocated.

"That winter our family was broken up. Pa took an office on Dearborn street in Chicago. Cyrus opened a law office in Bloomington, Illinois. John started in at State Normal and I went to Jacksonville to be an office boy for Rice Smith. I visited my father before going there. He had a bedroom back of his office. One day John Lyle King, a

lawyer in the same building, told Pa that Abe Lincoln and "Long Jim" Davis of Southern Illinois were going to spend the evening in his office and he wanted Pa to join the party. Pa asked if there would be any objection to bringing me along and he said "certainly not." So I was privileged to hear the most remarkable lot of stories told by four of the most interesting story tellers in Illinois."

## THROUGH EDITORIAL EYES

One of the pioneer daily newspaper editors of northern Illinois, J. F. Linton, through his personal meetings with Lincoln in the politically exciting years of the decade that preceded the Civil war, appraised him through the eyes of his profession and left his impressions of the man of destiny.

Linton and his brother, N. B. Linton, founded the *Peru Daily Chronicle* down river 16 miles from Ottawa in 1854, in an age when even the weekly newspapers had a hard struggle to survive.

Their publication lasted about a year then was suspended.

Half a century after the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Linton, then far on the sunset side of life, wrote his impressions of the former in this manner:

"I first met Lincoln in September of 1854 and I last saw him in May of 1864. I had the good fortune to be with him along with a dozen other guests at Mayor Glover's table in Ottawa the day of the first debate and to spend the evening with him at his hotel in Freeport on the evening of the second debate.

"I was also favored by being a member of the 39th Illinois Infantry, the only Illinois infantry regiment on the eastern front in the war. On the Rappahannock, near Falmouth, Lincoln paid us a friendly visit and treated us as though we were at least his cousins.

"Lincoln has been uniformly described as uncouth and abnormal, while in fact he was an exceptionally good looking man, being symmetrically developed, mentally, morally and physically. He was as self possessed and easy in his manner as any man I know.

"He was without a trace of awkwardness. It is the fashion to mourn over the fact that Lincoln's only schooling was gained during a six month's term in a backwoods school and to regret that he could not have had the advantage of a university education.

"This is taking a very narrow view of the case. Pioneer life was not without its compensation. Abraham Lincoln was in reality a very finely educated man. His education was the kind that gave him the right point of view and fitted him for the great tasks that developed upon him in after years.

"Had he given eight years of his life to the primary schools, four more years to the high school and six more years to the university, he could never have been, even approximately, the man he was. The education he received during the first 20 years of his life made him the peer of any man of his years in the country.

"It fitted him to be a capable business man at 21, an influential politician when he was 23 and a most useful member of the legislature when he was 25, having been elected to that body as a Whig by a large majority in a Democratic district.

"He served four terms in succession. He was the Whig candidate for speaker during the last two terms. He opposed all pro-slavery measures while in the legislature. When he was 31 he was chosen to represent his party throughout the state in opposition to Douglas, who was the acknowledged champion of the Democrats and then two years later.

"He acquitted himself so well in these contests that the people sent him to congress in 1846 when he was 37 years old to represent a district that normally was largely Democratic. He was the only Whig representative from Illinois at that time. During those years he was the acknowledged leader of the Whig party in Illinois and the party's choice for United States senator twice and vice-president once.

"It is fact that no better endowed man through education or practical experience was ever elected president in this country. No president has ever given us abler state papers and no president has enriched our literature with so precious a gem as the Gettysburg address.

"With no desire to lessen our estimates of the value of a college education we must admit that had Lincoln been a college bred man he could never have filled the place he did in the life of our country, could never have been the master of the pure English that he was, could never have composed the Gettysburg address. Valuable as a college education is it cannot compensate entirely for a lack of the knowledge that comes from actual contact with the world.

"Another mistake the public has generally entertained is the belief that Illinois in the forties and fifties was a wild and woolly western country.

"I knew the state quite well all through the fifties and I can truthfully say that I have never known a community more uniformly refined and cultured than were the people of Illinois even before the advent of the railroad.

"Every town had a lecture association, those with a population from three to five hundred as well as those from three to five thousand, and up inhabitants.

"Such men as Horace Greeley, Park Godwin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John G. Saxe, Bayard Taylor and others toured the country regularly every winter, in large and small towns.

"The fee generally was $35. When Taylor returned from Japan with Commodore Perry's fleet the charge was $75 but he was the only exception to the rule.

"Particularly, the northern part of the state was settled by the best that eastern states could supply. Douglas came to Illinois when a boy from Vermont and in 1853, after becoming famous, was invited to return and deliver the principal address at the state fair and incidentally to be the center of attraction.

"In his speech he boasted of Illinois and particularly her people. They were smarter and better in every way than the people of the eastern states—they were all from those states. He said, in reply to a joking question, they were superior to the people in the east because all the smart young men in the east had gone west, leaving only those who would not bear transportation. This is about the only way in which I can account for the superiority of Illinois people in those days.

"Lincoln was always popular with the masses of the people and early in his career acquired the name of "Honest Abe," a name by which he was affectionately known ever after. John Fiske, the historian, has said that Jefferson and Lincoln possessed the affections of the people to a greater extent than have any of the other presidents. The people of Illinois admired Lincoln for his ability, had an abiding faith in his honesty and in addition simply loved him.

"Lincoln was not what could be called a conventional man in either his habit or thought of life. He had respect for popular opinion but was not ruled by it. He was honest with himself and with the public. When he addressed an audience he did not say that which he thought they would like to hear. He aimed simply to give them a fair understanding of the subject being discussed. He was a close reasoner and had the happy faculty of making his statements so clear that any man could understand them.

"In addressing an audience he never indulged in oratorical tricks of any kind. He simply stood up and talked straight at the people, articulating every word so distinctly that all could hear and understand.

"Douglas was an orator with a national reputation and knew that his friends were on the lookout for some brilliant oratorical flights whenever he addressed them and would be disappointed if he failed to do so.

"In the historical debates of 1858 Douglas seemed to cultivate applause while Lincoln gave his attention to the making of convincing arguments. While Douglas' hearers were taking in his oratory they were losing the thread of his argument. Lincoln's hearers were never discommoded that way.

"All who saw Lincoln in the last two or three years of his life were impressed by the extreme melancholy of his countenance. A man of his wide sympathies could not but be weighed down by the untold suffering that the war had entailed. He knew that the miseries of the war fell more relentlessly upon the innocent children, women and the aged than they did upon the active soldier.

"He knew of the mistakes of some of our generals and of the incompetencies of others. He knew of dishonesty and grafting in many

departments. The Union forces met with many discouragements, a knowledge of which was necessarily to a large extent kept from the general public while the details all came to him.

"I was through the south soon after the close of the war and at different times since and I have talked freely with the people about the war and its results.

"Not once did I hear a harsh judgment of Lincoln from any one of them. I really believe that Lincoln's death was sincerely mourned by a large part of the white people of the South as it was by the people of the North.

"Wherever I went it was the uniform expression that in Lincoln's death the South had lost their best and most influential friend. Lincoln would have had the courage and ability to have prevented the misunderstandings that characterized the reconstruction period."

## WHEN FIRE FLEW

In Ottawa there had been feverish activity in the heat of August 1858 by the supporters of the rival candidates for the senatorship from Illinois.

Before the first debate at Ottawa, Douglas and Lincoln had clashed on the same question of the extension of slavery. Lincoln had spoken in reply to Douglas at six places. They also had locked horns in a supreme court case at Ottawa at the April term of court in 1851. Douglas and S. T. Logan were winners. The irate judges scolded all three for their slipshod work in the case.

Plans for a joint reception of the opposing candidates fell through. Douglas remained overnight at the home of Captain J. McCormick, a river boat man on the bluff of the Illinois river in Peru and marked by the wheel house of one of the boats that McCormick had piloted.

That Lincoln appeared to be in no hurry about telling his supporters at Ottawa how he planned to get to Ottawa is shown in one of the three letters written him by W. H. L. Wallace and which he apparently did not answer.

The committee to greet Lincoln had been at work in the little town of 5,000 people nestled at the junction of the Fox and Illinois with the aristocratic parts of the town then on the north bluff and in the vicinity of Illinois avenue, Webster street and Clay street in west Ottawa and in east Ottawa.

August 8 Wallace wrote to Lincoln in this vein:

"Hon. A. Lincoln

"Springfield

"Dear Sir: A committee of Republicans has been appointed to make arrangements for the meeting between yourself and Douglas at this place on the 21st inst. On behalf of the committee I write to ascertain from you at what hour and by what route you will reach here and whether or not you will come in company with Judge D. Please let us know by Saturday next as we are acting in cooperation as far as practicable with a similar committee appointed by the Douglas Democrats and we are to have a joint meeting of the committees on Saturday evening next to complete the arrangements.

"Very Respectfully,

"Yours,

"W. H. L. Wallace"

The next day Wallace had found Douglas' supporters had balked at making arrangements for the joint reception for the two senatorial candidates. He dispatched a second letter to Lincoln sending it to Peoria where Lincoln was to be and in this manner:

"Hon. A. Lincoln

"Peoria

"Dear Sir: I wrote you yesterday to ascertain whether you and Judge Douglas would probably arrive here together on the 21st. We also have since ascertained that it is the purpose of Mr. Douglas's partisan friends to land him at Buffalo Rock about four miles below town and escort him into town with carriages, etc. We also learn that they are averse to a joint reception. It has occurred to our committee that if you can make it convenient to be at Joliet on Saturday morning and take the special train which will probably pass there about 9 o'clock

you would then meet the Chicago delegation and arrive in company with them about 11 o'clock.

"We will meet you at the depot here and escort you to the residence of J. O. Glover, Esq., where quarters will be provided for you.

"It is contemplated to have Douglas speak also in the evening. If so it might be desirable you to speak also.

"Mr. Campbell will confer with you and you may write or send word by him.

"Yours Respectfully

"W. H. L. Wallace

"On behalf of the Republican Committee"

Nine days passed Wallace fretted in his law office down town and in the little green house on LaSalle street, which he owned before he built his stone mansion on the North Bluff, once owned by the state and completed a year before he went to war. The mansion now is private property.

It was then August 18th and still Lincoln had given the committee at Ottawa no hint as to his plans for reaching Ottawa. He apparently was giving nothing away as to his plans that might enable the Douglas supporters to try and go him one better and was keeping his strategy to himself which did not add to the comfort of Wallace and the other Republican big wigs of the day.

The political breech between Wallace and Judge Dickey, his father-in-law, also was revealed in the third letter of Wallace to Lincoln, dated August 18, three days before the debate was to take place. Dickey also had broken with Lincoln politically, and was to go storming off to southern Illinois in the fall of 1858, to work for the election of Douglas and the defeat of Lincoln in which Dickey succeeded. Southern Illinois was Democrat ground in the campaign and the presence of Judge Dickey, Kentucky born, one time slave owner—he had freed his slaves at heavy personal cost and he had flirted with Abolitionism in the early 1850's but found some of its theories too radical for him to swallow. That added fuel to the fires being lighted against Lincoln, the Kentucky born lawyer now accused of being a

"black Republican" by his political enemies and of being in league with the Abolitionists of the north.

Wallace's third letter to Lincoln followed:

"Ottawa, August 18, 1858

"Hon. A. Lincoln

"Peoria

"Dear Sir: I wrote you on behalf of the Republican committee 10 days ago to know how and when you would arrive here for the meeting on the 21st inst. and whether you would arrive in company with Mr. Douglas. I directed the letter to Springfield and have not received a reply. As the time is short now I address you at Peoria as I see you have an appointment to speak there tomorrow. Please advise me by telegram from Peoria how and when you will reach Ottawa and whether you will arrive on the same train with Mr. Douglas.

"We are expecting a large gathering here on the 21st. Your friends are enthusiastic and hopeful. You have doubtless seen that Dickey is going for Douglas. I regret this very much, Mr. Lincoln, as you can see and perhaps it is proper, considering the relationships between Dickey and myself, that I should assure you that his course will have no influence with me. I cannot support Douglas and shall do all I honorably can to secure your election.

"W. H. L. Wallace"

These three letters came to light in the opening of the Robert Todd Lincoln collection of his father's papers in 1947.

However, while Lincoln made no effort to answer the Wallace letters and left Wallace and the committee "hanging in the air," so to speak on arrangements for the debate, he had been in communication with Mayor Glover and with Burton C. Cook before the debate.

A copy of this letter came to light in newspaper files of 1908 in Ottawa, when the city marked the semi-centennial of the debate. It was republished in 1939 in "Rambling Around," a collection of the writer's columns for many years.

The companion letter to the one to Mayor Glover had been

written by Lincoln on August 2 to Burton C. Cook, one time political opponent of Lincoln, who now was in the Republican fold.

It follows:

"Springfield, Illinois

"Hon. B. C. Cook

"My Dear Sir:

"I have a letter from a very true friend and intelligent man insisting that there is a plan on foot in LaSalle and Bureau to run Douglas Republicans for congress and for the Legislature in those counties if they can only get the encouragements of our folks nominating pretty extreme Abolitionists. It is thought they will do nothing obnoxious to the charges of abolitionism. Please have your eye upon this.

"Signs are looking pretty fair.

"Yours very truly

"A. Lincoln"

On August 9, Lincoln wrote to Mayor Glover, who was to be his host over the weekend at the time of the debate—in this manner:

"Yours of the 4th in answer to mine addressed to Mr. Cook is received and for which I thank you. I have written Mr. Lovejoy as I wrote Mr. Cook and he answers substantially as you do.

"Things look reasonably well down this way. Friends write from all the places where Douglas is speaking and they all say he gains nothing. This shows at least that he does not scare and cow our friends where he goes.

"I shall be glad of a line from you at any time.

"Yours truly, A. Lincoln"

The young corn was green, in long, brave rows, under a hot June sun when Lincoln made his famous "house divided" speech. The wheat was golden under a burning July sun when he and Douglas completed their arrangements for the series of seven public debates in seven different places in Illinois.

The oats were in long straggling rows in the clipped harvest fields of August when the "Railsplitter" and the "little Giant" met at Ottawa on August 21, 1858, in the first of the debates.

The hills flamed with gold and red and brown and scarlet when the last of the debates took place at Alton on October 18, when the die was cast and the fate of Lincoln and Douglas was in the hands of the electorate.

Ottawa on August 21, 1858 was a vast human sea filled with a crowd of from 10,000 to 15,000 people shuffling back and forth on crowded wooden sidewalks. In effect, it was more like a huge and overgrown county fair than the meeting of two giants of the time, met to debate the gravest and most momentous issues of their day, on the answer to which depended the future course of the nation and its very life.

The impression that the crowd was in a holiday mood, whereas it should have been in the mood to pay strict attention to what was being said by the opposing champions of two different and widely opposite theories of government and of human relationship to that government, was aptly summed up long years later by Mrs. Hannah Patterson, of Ottawa. She was one of the last survivors of the debate and recalled the appearance of the great opponents for many years.

"I remember how the crowd had a holiday air," said Mrs. Patterson. "It seemed out of place to me, for those were serious questions that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas were debating. The people paid for the gaiety of that day in the horrors of Civil War."

A brassy sky beat down on the tremendous crowd in Ottawa on the day of the debate, where a contest of giants, which had been inevitable since their paths first had crossed on the prairies of their adopted Illinois, was about to take place. The crowd milled and jostled restlessly for hours before the debaters squared off in the afternoon.

By canal boat, by train, and by foot, by wagon, and by carriage, on horseback, in groups and alone, they gathered from all parts of northern Illinois, from the central part of the state, from Chicago, and even from distant states, for the meeting of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas in debate in an inland town in Illinois.

Roads were thick with dust and crowded with the thousands all headed toward Ottawa. Many started long before dawn from many miles away in order to make sure to reach the city by afternoon.

Farmers suspended work, busy as they were, and went to Ottawa. Hawkers and fakers set up stands. The camp fires had gleamed all night in Ottawa before the debate. Taverns and inns did a rushing business. A horse thief stole a lady's carriage.

At noon the human sea, faces sunburned in the August heat, dressed in their best, which only added to their discomfort, because the clothes then the year around were hot and heavy, started its way to the park. On the northeast corner the new building of the Northern Grand Division of the Illinois Supreme Court was half completed. It was an object of interest to both Lincoln and Douglas from a professional standpoint as attorneys.

Chicago newspapers sent their best writers to cover the debate. One used a new system known as shorthand in order to set down every word spoken by the two senatorial candidates, Lincoln and Douglas. They were objects of much curiosity to that part of the tremendous crowd which got close enough to see them work.

Here, indeed, was a contest of mighty men. Douglas, a native of Vermont, where few slaves had ever set foot and remained in bondage, had come to Illinois seeking his fortune. Here, he had earned his first money, here he had studied law, here the people of the state had honored him with election to the United States senate, and here he had risen by his own talents to a position of power and honor.

His eyes were on the Presidency, but first was the matter of disposing of an ungainly, tall man with the shock of black hair, who likewise had been honored by election to Congress by the people of Illinois, and who now was to engage him in debate at seven designated places in Illinois.

Never in American history had there been such a great contrast, physically and sartorially, between two men seeking such a high office as that of United States senator from the same state.

Douglas was short and thick set and was only five feet and one inch tall. His hair was thick and dark, streaked with gray, and his eyebrows were bushy over the dark blue eyes. He had a pugnacious appearance, his neck was short and thick and set on square shoulders, while his hands were small and chubby. Usually, he was elegantly

dressed, and when he ascended the platform to make a talk he looked and talked like a great statesman.

By contrast, Lincoln was born in Kentucky, of poor white parents, in a state where the black man was held in bondage and where the average white family was doomed to utter poverty. Tall and thin, where Douglas was short and stocky; possessed of large hands and large feet, where those of Douglas were small and dainty, almost effeminate; carelessly dressed, where Douglas was elegant, as a rule. Lincoln nevertheless in spite of his awkward appearance, possessed the God-given gift of holding an audience to the strictest attention when he once warmed to his subject.

Farmers, attorneys, politicians, merchants, gamblers, adventurers, and all the heterogeneous population of what was still a comparatively new country in northern Illinois were, shortly after noon, gathered by the thousands in and around Washington Park.

The early comers gained the most advantageous spots and the balance crowded as close to the speakers as they could, adding to the heat of a vast human sea which already had been burned brown by a hot summer sun.

Lincoln's train had been met at the Rock Island station at noon by a delegation of Republicans, who escorted him to the home of Mayor J. O. Glover.

Douglas came in from the west, by carriage from Peru, in a long procession of carriages, wagons, riders and people on foot. The Democrats were determined to give Douglas an even greater reception than the one that the Republicans had manufactured for Lincoln.

Douglas was entertained at the Geiger House, headquarters for the Democrat party for the day.

Notables occupied the platform with Lincoln and Douglas when the debate got under way at 2 o'clock. Among them were old Chief Shabbona, then past eighty years of age and with less than a year to live; Mayor J. O. Glover, O. C. Gray, B. C. Cook, Washington Bushnell, leading attorneys of the city; Arthur Lockwood, merchant, William Reddick, whose beautiful home, now a public library, stands opposite the northeast corner of the park; George Walker, merchant and first

Sheriff of LaSalle County; Judge John V. A. Hoes, kin of former President Martin Van Buren; J. F. Nash, banker and Circuit Clerk, John Manley, hardware merchant, William Cogswell, industrialist and ardent supporter of Douglas, and W. H. W. Cushman, who amassed a fortune after the Civil War.

Lincoln was in a genial mood. He mingled with the crowd, patted school boys on the head, and told them, "Rub against people. Learn from them. Don't be afraid if they are larger and know more." He picked up two small boys, joked with them, and told their mother, "Here comes Douglas; a little man in some respects but a mighty one in others."

Parades wound their way through the streets, winding up just before the speakers started their orations. In the Lincoln parade were carried rails and a maul, symbolic of the work that he had done in southern Illinois, swinging the same type of maul on ash, oak, walnut and butternut logs.

The heat was oppressive. Lincoln loosened his black string tie and handed his coat to Burton C. Cook with the request to "Hold it while I stone Douglas."

Lincoln's confidence was matched by that of Douglas, who had every reason to believe that in short order he could dispose of this tall man from the state capital in the first of a series of history-making debates on the soil of their adopted state.

It may have been this confidence in his own ability that led Douglas to take a desperate and long chance of disposing of Lincoln and his senatorial ambitions through falsely connecting him with the Anti-Nebraska state convention of 1854.

Douglas, speaking first, pulled from his pocket what was supposed to be a copy of a newspaper containing the account of the Anti-Nebraska meeting of 1854 and the resolutions drawn up at the meeting. It was his purpose to present the accusation that Lincoln took part in the meeting and drafting of the resolutions, so that he (Lincoln) would have to use up all his time replying to the Douglas accusations and would not have time to present his side of the questions

to be debated. In such a manner did Douglas plan to dispose of Lincoln. It was one of the few bad political moves that Douglas made.

The resolutions condemning slavery and its further extension, and condemning the men in public office who either openly condoned its further extension or secretly worked with the advocates of the further spread of slavery while publicly pretending to be opposed to it, were read by Douglas.

He called on Lincoln to answer the charges, to defend himself because he had helped to draft the resolutions, and to deny, if possible, that he had been connected with the convention.

Lincoln had not been present at the convention. He said so in reply to Douglas, and disclaimed any knowledge of having had a hand in the preparation of the resolutions, which he said were drafted in Kane county.

Then he went on to present his side of the debate, after he had been cheered by the huge crowd of 10,000 or more people for laying low what was a false accusation by Douglas.

He charged that Douglas and former President Franklin K. Pierce, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and President James Buchanan all had had previous knowledge of what the Dred Scott decision would be before it was made public. He enlarged on his previous charge that a conspiracy was on foot to make slavery legal throughout the nation, north and south, east and west, in free territory and in territory that was not yet organized as a state.

The Dred Scott decision, ruling that slaves could not become citizens even when they had fled to the free north, had thrown that part of the nation into an uproar of anger and unrest unparallelled in the nation's history. It had been a boon, a Godsend to the Abolitionists and further fuel for the flames of hatred sweeping the nation and rapidly dividing it into two armed and hostile camps. Outwardly they were still under the same flag. In reality, on the questions of state's rights and slavery, its extensions or its eventual abolition, they were as far apart as the poles.

Lincoln at Ottawa laid the ground work for future debates where he was to make accusations and propound questions in such a manner that Douglas either must lose the south by replying in one way and forfeit the presidency in 1860, or by answering in the opposite manner lose the senatorship from Illinois in 1858.

Because Douglas occupied practically all his time at Ottawa in first presenting his forgery that Lincoln had been connected with the anti-Nebraska convention of 1854, and, in his rebuttal, in enlarging on the same accusations, Lincoln is considered winner of the debate in Ottawa.

The debate in Ottawa set the stage for the one in Freeport, on August 27. There Lincoln maneuvered Douglas into a trap from which the latter emerged with the senatorship from Illinois in his possession virtually, but with his hopes for the presidential nomination in 1860 dimmed.

Following the debate, Douglas was hoisted on the shoulders of several husky supporters and was carried to the Geiger House. Soon after, he left town.

An equal number shouldered Lincoln and carried him, protesting, for nearly three blocks before he finally wriggled loose and walked to the Glover home. He told his bearers as his long legs dangled in the air and his lanky body was carried along the heads of the crowd, "Now, boys, let me down please." After he gained his feet he shook hands with the bearers.

The next day Lincoln wrote to a friend, J. O. Cunningham, "Douglas and I for the first time this canvass crossed swords here yesterday. The fire flew some, and I am glad to know that I am yet alive. There was a vast concourse of people—more than could get close enough to hear."

Part of the huge crowd lingered in town long after the debate. They called on Owen Lovejoy for a speech, and he made one that night from the porch of the Glover home, to the delight of a crowd of a thousand people or more.

On Monday, August 23, Lincoln spoke at Henry, on the Illinois river, in Marshall county, to a crowd of farmers who left their thresh-

ing to throng the little town forty miles down river from Ottawa. Of the Henry meeting, the *Ottawa Republican* on August 28, said: "Mr. Lincoln left Ottawa on the Monday morning train between three and four o'clock to fill an appointment in the afternoon. He spoke at that place about two and a half hours to a crowd that was variously estimated at from two to five thousand. We learn by a gentleman of this city who was present that he made an even better speech than he did in Ottawa.

"In the evening Capt. O. C. Gray, of this city, addressed a large audience assembled there and he kept them in an uproar with his telling hits against the 'African amalgamation Democracy.' The Republicans of the county are wide awake and determined to give their opponents an overwhelming defeat in November."

Partisan as it is, the *Republican* description of Douglas when he was making his charges that Lincoln had taken part in the anti-Nebraska convention of 1854, and helped to draft resolutions first drawn up at Ottawa, before the convention was held, is nevertheless an interesting example of the manner in which newspapers of the time colored their stories to suit their editorial policies. The *Republican* said of Douglas: "We can give but little idea of the appearance of the speaker while perpetrating his fraud. His face was livid with rage and despair; he threw himself into contortions, shook his head, shook his fist, his whole body shook as with palsy; his eyes protruded from their sockets, he raved like a mad man. His voice at times descended to a demoniacal howl; and such looks as he gave his opponent. They were those of a fiend in despair. The most considerate part of his worshippers were disgusted with their champion.

"At the close of Douglas' hour Mr. Lincoln came forward and was greeted with rousing cheers from full three-fourths of the vast crowd. He disposed of Douglas' grand onslaught by simply affirming that he was not at the convention mentioned, had nothing to do with its resolutions and consequently was not subject to criticism on them, whatever they were.

"This was answer enough for a fair opponent. Having disposed of this, he entered upon leading topics, and in a very gentlemanly

and masterly manner gave Douglas such an excoriation as he will not get over before November. He did not retort on Douglas by proclaiming his assertions 'infamous falsehoods,' but intimated it was such. His reference to Douglas' record upon Supreme Court decisions cut Douglas up so badly that he did not attempt to reply, but occupied most of his closing half hour by enlarging on his forgery with more vehemence than before.

"Subtract the forgery from his two speeches and there is nothing left. Indeed, intelligent men of all parties are free to say that Lincoln won the field. Douglas lost friends and lost votes by the exhibition he made of himself in Ottawa, and when his willful forgery becomes generally known, he must lose every decent man in his party."

So thick was the dust in Ottawa on the day of the debate that the city resembled a vast smokehouse according to one newspaper account of that famous event.

It was carried in the *Illinois State Journal* of August 25, 1858, which in turn had condensed it from the *Chicago Press and Tribune.*

The account follows:

"Incident at Ottawa

"So deep was the interest manifested and so vast the crowd in attendance upon the opening debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Ottawa that we cannot forego giving the following incidents of the occasion condensed from the *Press and Tribune*:

" 'Before breakfast Ottawa was beleaguered with a multiplying host from all parts of the compass. At 8 o'clock the streets and avenues leading from the country were so thronged with dust that they resembled a vast smokehouse. Trams, trains and processions poured in from every direction like an army with banners.

" 'National flags and mottoes and devices fluttered and stared from every street corner. Military companies and bands of music monopolized the thoroughfares.

" 'Around the court house and the public square two brass 12 pounders banged away in the center of town and drowned the hubbub of the multitudes with their own higher capacities for hubbub. Vanity Fair never boiled with madder enthusiasm.

" 'At 11 o'clock two big processions were formed—one marching to the depot of the Rock Island Railroad, where Mr. Lincoln was expected to arrive and the other moving down the road towards Peru, whence Mr. Douglas was advertised to come.

" 'As the first procession was crossing the canal one enormous canal boat was moored near the bridge crowded with men and women. On the boat was a large banner inscribed THE CORPORATION OF MARSEILLES FOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN.' "

Long years after the thousands had melted away from Washington Square, Ottawa, long after the great crowd had dwindled to a handful of old men and white haired women, long after the two great Americans had died one at the beginning and one at the end of the great Civil War, the shadows of which even then hung over the park at Ottawa, the *Quincy Herald-Whig* commented on the bitterly partisan attitude of the newspapers of 1858 which had carried accounts of the debate.

The *Herald-Whig* said: "The most dramatic example of the kind of news stories printed in the partisan press is the reporting of the Lincoln-Douglas debate by the newspapers of Illinois. Every newspaper was bitterly partisan in those days not only in its editorial opinions but also in the coloring of its news stories. In Quincy there was the *Herald,* intensely partisan to Stephen A. Douglas, and the Democratic party, and the *Whig,* just as loyal to Republicanism and Abraham Lincoln. When Lincoln and Douglas debated in Washington Park in Quincy on October 13, 1858, the reporters for the two newspapers saw the same crowds, heard the same speeches and witnessed the same demonstrations. However, the news stories in the two papers differ as widely as the comments in its editorial columns.

"Concerning the Douglas parade the *Whig* said, 'The thing was a most miserable fizzle. About 50 boys carried torches and the crowd itself did not number more than 200.' But the *Herald* said, 'The procession of Democracy was over an hour passing the Quincy house and was not less than two miles in length. It was the largest procession ever seen in Quincy.' "

"The *Whig* said of Douglas' speech, 'All he did was to roar,

fume, slobber and fret. Old Abe maintained his equanimity, his good humor and his complacency. Judge Douglas squirmed like a bear with a sore head.' The *Herald* said of Lincoln's speech, 'Mr. Lincoln was nervous and trembling. Before the close of the debate he was the most abject picture of nervousness we ever had witnessed Poor Lincoln.'

"And so for column upon column each newspaper distorted the facts in the interests of what it believed to be loyalty to its party."

One of the best descriptions of the debate at Ottawa was that of the Illinois State Journal at Springfield under date of August 25, 1858, which read:

"Incidents at Ottawa

"In a few minutes another boat appeared from Morris with a similar crowd and similar devices.

"Shortly after 12 o'clock the special train from Chicago, Joliet, etc., came in with seventeen cars. When it reached the depot three deafening cheers went up for Abraham Lincoln. The cheers were repeated and repeated until the woods and the bluffs rang. Mr. Lincoln was placed in a carriage beautifully decorated with evergreens and mottoes by the young ladies of Ottawa and escorted by the procession over half a mile in length and bands of music from the depot to the public square, around the public square, and to the residence of Mayor Glover.

"Enormous crowds blockaded the streets and sidewalks through which the procession moved and the shouts of the multitude rolled from end to end around the street corners and across the bridge in a continuous tumult.

"When Mr. Lincoln's carriage stopped at Mayor Glover's residence three mighty cheers were given and the crowd scattered for dinner.

"The Douglas procession moved down the Peru road to Buffalo Rock, where they met the pro-slavery champion whom they escorted to the Geiger house. The procession was about half as long as that which waited for Mr. Lincoln and the enthusiasm was almost wholly confined to the Irish Catholics.

"At one o'clock the crowd commenced pouring into the public square. The rush was literally tremendous. The speakers' stand had

been foolishly left unguarded and was so crowded with people before the officers of the day arrived that a half hour was consumed in a battle to make room for the speakers and the reporters. Even then the accommodations were of the most wretched character. Two or three times the surge of people on the platform almost drove the reporters off and a half dozen clowns on the roof broke through some of the boards and let them down on the heads of the reception committees. The whole number of persons present could not have been less than 12,000. Large numbers were present from Chicago, Galena, Springfield, Peoria, Quincy, Rock Island, Bloomington, Alton, and other points. The crowd was considerably larger than the crowd that assembled in Chicago on the night of Douglas's opening speech.

"At the conclusion of the debate when Lincoln walked down the platform he was seized by multitudes and borne off on their shoulders; in the centre of a crowd of 5,000 shouting Republicans with a band of music in the front.

"It was the opinion of every unprejudiced listener that Douglas would give a full year off his life if he could escape meeting Lincoln at the six other discussions through which he must pass."

Young Knute Sampson, only a few months over from Norway, heard the debate. It was a puzzle to him. He came with a Democrat uncle and he applauded at the proper time. He knew vaguely that great issues, mighty issues, issues that would help mold the fate of a nation were at stake. He left still puzzled by it all. Three years later he was carrying a musket in the Union army with one man he could not understand as his commander-in-chief. The other had died a few weeks after the first cannon shot at Fort Sumter had touched off the war.

Did Lincoln, with glee, write a one line comment on an editorial boner on the part of William Osman, the *Free Trader* editor, at Ottawa after the second of the debates at Freeport on August 27?

The question will never be answered.

But in one of the two files of the *Free Trader* in Reddick's library, Ottawa, there appeared a now faded and pencilled, notation which

may be in his handwriting on the first page of the September 11, 1858, issue.

Editor Osman, on page one, told his readers that he was publishing on the same page, the speeches of Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln at Freeport.

But no such speeches appear on the page.

The reason for the omission is unknown. The printer may have gone fishing or for some other reason neglected to use the speeches as promised or they may not have arrived in time for publication.

Then it would appear that a friend of Lincoln's whose first name was James—the last name is faded and undecipherable, sent Lincoln a copy of that issue of the *Free Trader,* calling attention to the editorial boner.

Across the top of the page over the *Free Trader* masthead, there appears this line and the signature of Lincoln, if it is such, "Yes, James, ha, ha, I saw it. A. Lincoln."

Through an odd mishap of history there are no known copies now in existence of the *Free Trader* issue of August 28, 1858, which would present the Democratic side from the viewpoint of editor Osman.

The files in the library at Ottawa end with the issue of August 21 for one file and begin with the issue of September 11 in the other file. There are then two issues missing. The files of the *Republican* in the same library are complete as to the debate at Ottawa.

Lincoln bided his time after the debates, then arranged to have them printed in booklet form, which brought a storm of protest from the Douglas followers.

Lincoln had his friends collect newspapers in which accounts of the seven debates had been printed. From these he selected those accounts which he wanted published and had them put out for sale in Columbus, Ohio, March 20, 1860, where they sold like "hot cakes."

Contrary to the impression of many people Lincoln and Douglas did not confine all their oratory to the seven debates on the prairies and hills of Illinois—Ottawa, August 21, Freeport on the 27th, Jonesboro, September 15, Charleston on the 18th, Galesburg on

October 7, Quincy on the 13th, and finally the last one at Alton October 15.

Both stumped the length and breadth of Illinois, leaving no stone unturned to reach the voters. It was a test of endurance for both in an age when rugged, even vicious, never dull and never non-partisan politics was the rule.

Lincoln wound up his campaign at Petersburg October 29 only a mile or more from the abandoned village of New Salem. In truth he had come a "far piece" from the black haired youth who had lived there in the 1830's, read Shakespeare before the flickering fire in the Jack Kelso cabin and dreamed of great days to come.

And in truth the same could be said of Douglas, who had left his native Vermont with his sights set on high political office and who had reached that ambition and now had his heart set on still higher rungs on the political ladder.

When all the fanfare had died away, when the last of the thousands who heard the debate at one or more of the seven places had cast their ballots both Lincoln and Douglas had a hollow victory.

The Republicans had carried Illinois by a narrow margin and had elected their candidates for superintendent of public instruction and state treasurer.

But they did not gain control of the general assembly, the vital element then in the election of United States Senator.

The assembly, through the gerrymandering of the powerful Democratic party remained in its hands, so that, when it met in January 1859, it elected Douglas for a third time and for the second time in four years. Lincoln saw his hopes dashed of becoming senator from Illinois.

Rough and tumble affairs as they were, with no polished oratory, some horse play and occasionally flashes of anger on the part of both men the debates served important purposes.

They brought the attention of the nation to Lincoln, who had competed in other debates, or legal cases, with some of the best men that Illinois had produced and had vanquished them. These include

J. T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, O. H. Browning and Lyman Trumbull. They cost Douglas the presidency in 1860. Reelected senator from Illinois, he was no longer the titular leader of his party. One of the first acts to reduce him in the ranks was to strip from Douglas the chairmanship of the powerful committee on territories and give it to Senator Jefferson Davis of Kentucky, later to become the sole president of the short lived Confederate States of America.

Douglas had taken the "popular sovereignty" stand that if the people of a western territory wanted slavery let them have it. If they did not want it they would be allowed to discourage it and to refuse it.

Lincoln and the Republican party stood on the ground that slavery was wrong and should be treated as such.

In Ottawa Douglas had charged that Lincoln and Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois were seeking to form an "Abolitionist party" and he referred to the "Black Republicans," a term that swept the southern states like wild fire. He trotted out his doctrine that Lincoln was intent on dissolving the Union and favored social and political equality of the negroes and the whites.

Lincoln rejoined that the Negro had the equal right with any man to eat the bread earned by his own work. He told the sweltering crowd that Douglas planned the perpetuity and nationalism of slavery.

Douglas was so far discredited in his party from the results of the debate with Lincoln that his party split wide open in 1860 and he became the candidate of one splinter of it, the northern Democrat, and was able, in the campaign of 1860, to win electoral votes in only two states, Missouri and New Jersey. John Breckenridge of Kentucky and Joe Lane of Oregon carried the bulk of the southern states, with the Constitutional Democratic party. John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts carried three states, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. Lincoln won the election with a total of 180 electoral votes against 123 for his combined foes. But still he did not get a popular majority of the vote, a fact that he never forgot.

In Freeport Douglas brought out his popular sovereignty doctrine. In Jonesboro he insisted that the words of the Declaration of Indepen-

dence, "All men being created equal," meant all "white men." That was in Democratic territory.

Other debates were at Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy and at Alton, where the last of the seven were held. By that time in October both men were exhausted from their almost endless campaign for more than two months on the prairies of their adopted state.

Defeated as he was in the race for the presidency the example of Douglas, when the Civil War broke out was an inspiration for all Americans for generations to come.

He raised his powerful voice and tremendous energy in a plea for preservation of the nation and did much to lead his adopted state of Illinois into the forefront of that battle through the raising of troops, the raising of money, and the raising of supplies for a war, which at the outset did not appear as if it would last four long years.

But his energies were spent. He died June 3, 1861, honored as a great American and patriot in its time of greatest peril.

## ROARING LITTLE GIANT

When Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas swung into the heat of their famous debates on the prairies of Illinois late in the summer of 1858 Charles Delano of Ottawa laid down the surveyor's instruments and took up the editor's pen to aid the cause of Douglas through the publication of the *Daily Little Giant.*

Delano's inexperience in the editorial field is shown in the 18 issues of the *Little Giant* which were preserved at Ottawa until the summer of 1950. Then 14 of the 18 went to the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield, two remained in the hands of the then owner, Leon V. Gonigam of Ottawa. The writer has one and Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, has the 18th.

In all there were 45 issues of the *Little Giant* published between September 21 and November 10.

Delano was a member of a New York state family which had moved to Illinois more than 20 years before Lincoln and Douglas

locked horns in their debates in Illinois, which set the prairies on fire and divided the state into two hostile camps; one ardently for Lincoln, the other equally determined to elect Douglas, the "Little Giant" as United States Senator.

Loring Delano, a brother of Charles, built a hotel in Ottawa along the Illinois-Michigan canal on east Superior street. It is not known if Lincoln ever stayed there but the famous old place sheltered such varied types of Americans as Daniel Webster, when he was on land buying junkets in Illinois, the Jefferson troupe of actors, canal construction forces, army officers, and many others. The old hotel, long famous for the fine meals served by mine host, was torn down in the early years of this century.

Tradition in Ottawa relates that Charles Delano, at the outbreak of the Civil War, sold his United States government bonds and went south to invest in cotton. Then General U. S. Grant seized the cotton as contraband and Delano had to sue to get it back.

The *Daily Little Giant* was not a large paper. Its editor may have had little financial backing. Certainly he could not have had much if any editorial experience. The 18 issues known of the *Little Giant* show that he did not in person attend any of the debates, so far as a reading of them shows, or that he made any attempt to interview either Lincoln or Douglas on the issues of the campaign of 1858.

Because of these facts the *Daily Little Giant* is interesting merely as reflecting the mode of the day in strictly partisan organs which flourished a few weeks or months then went out of business.

It adds nothing to our knowledge of the debates or the debaters, the issues of the day or how they were presented to the voters.

The copies of the *Little Giant* that have been preserved are those of September 22, 24, 29; October 2, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 27 and 29, November 3, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10.

Subscription rates were $6 a year with the expectation that its publication would continue in some form after the close of the campaign of 1858.

The bias of the *Little Giant,* not uncommon in an age when

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editors dipped their pen in acid, is evident in the second issue on September 22.

Whether Delano was the writer of this masterpiece of sarcasm or had a ghost writer is not known, but it set the editorial tone of the entire issues of the 45 copies, it would appear.

Delano wrote of a political meeting at Ottawa:

"How They Like It

"We heard a prominent Republican tell another the other day that Mr. Schlosser should have been kicked out of the court house for presuming that a Nigger was going to speak at the Free church, although the object of his address was to help Lincoln. Every fool knows that his speech would do Lincoln more harm than good and that this abolitionist fanaticism must be dropped. It was hard enough to go Lovejoy without being obliged to swallow every greasy Nigger that happened along."

Lovejoy was the Owen Lovejoy, then a member of congress from Illinois, with his home at Princeton, 38 miles west of Ottawa, where it still stands. He was a fiery Abolitionist, the brother of the martyred editor of Alton, Elijah Lovejoy, who lost his life for writing against slavery at the hands of a mob which stormed his newspaper plant.

His lashing tongue and biting pen were feared and hated in congress by the southern slaveholders and the social pariahs of the time, the slave catchers and slave dealers.

But that diatribe of Delano's was matched in virulence by the one on September 21 of "Limerick," written from LaSalle, 16 miles west of Ottawa.

Limerick wrote:

"Mr. Coffing spoke last night in Cody's new hall to an audience of one thousand persons. His remarks were listened to with breathless attention for one hour and he was only interrupted at intervals by the most enthusiastic applause.

"After defining his position he directed his remarks to the reverend Parson Lovejoy (Owen Lovejoy), who had spoken there a few evenings previous and proceeded to show up the hypocrisy and hollow

headedness of that delectable nigger worshipper. He showed how in 1844 Lovejoy villianously abused Henry Clay and took the stump against him and now had the audacity to claim that he was his friend. He then read the celebrated Lombard letter and commented thereon to the infinite delight of everybody but the woollies.

"I have seldom listened to an address more high toned and explicit than this one. His sarcasm at times was withering in the extreme and cut to the quick. Abolitionism has surfeited the public mind to an extent no longer endurable and the people are determined to repudiate this ultra Negro Stealer, who so publicly sets the laws at defiance.

"The current is against Lovejoy—he can not be reelected. The people are aroused. All the joy and all the love of his sable brethren cannot save him from the Waterloo of defeat.

"The heads of the Abolitionists in this place and in Peru commenced swelling to an alarming extent this morning and a physician, a counterfeit Fred Douglas, as dark as Erebus, has been sent for to prescribe for them immediately. Poor fellows, their disease is mortal.

"Limerick"

But the shafts of sarcasm and ridicule aimed at the Republicans by Delano and Limerick—they may have been the same person—were outdone by those of the writer from Earlville, 20 miles north of Ottawa.

The Earlville correspondent wrote:

"Abolition Wake at Earlville

"Rabbits all out—22 men, women and children all told—
one hand organ grinder

"Earlville, September 1858

"On the 18th inst. (Saturday) our quiet village was slightly annoyed by the mournful notes of a hand organ and the swill milk and slops of eloquence of one O. C. Gray (a prominent Ottawa attorney—editorial note) alias "Otter Creek Orator" and one J. O. Glover from some little obscure place on the canal, Utica we think. Twenty-two men, women and children, all told, were present on the occasion and the one organ grinder making in all 23 by actual count. Three of the

ladies who were induced by their friends to attend left on the first exhibition of the "Otter Creek Hero." He said he approved all the national abolition party had said or done since that time. He is an awful man. He must have been a great man in bygone days.

"Why don't the Abolition party appreciate more fully this 'Otter Creek Hero'?

"By the way, who is J. O. Glover? He seems to have been, to within a few days, we believe, a not very wise justice of the peace."

The Glover referred to in such disparaging terms was the same Glover who had been host to Lincoln a month before at the time of the debate with Douglas. He was then mayor of the town. His home at 810 Columbus street was marked by a tablet placed by the Illini chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1938.

The *Little Giant* day after day in September and October of 1858 listed the places where Douglas was speaking in his campaign for votes for United States Senator. It did not, of course, as a matter of policy, name the places where Lincoln also was beating the bushes for the same purpose.

November 10, 1858, after the election had been held the *Little Giant* published its last edition saying:

"Valedictory

"With this number ceased publication of the *Little Giant*. It was commenced some weeks before election and we promised to continue it until after election was over and the returns were in so that we could announce the results. Our advices today show that result in not only the county, in this congressional district, but also on the state ticket. Having thus announced the entire result we are absolved from continuing the paper any longer and therefore wind up its brief career.

"That during the excitement of a political contest the editor of an exclusively campaign paper should not make some enemies among his political opponents was more than we ventured to expect or believe. We believe, however, in the way of personal abuse and detraction we have received fully as much as we gave and if our opponents are willing to rest at that we are and we stand ready to shake their hand on it and forgive and forget."

A suggestion that the *Little Giant* continue publication as a daily paper met some favor in Ottawa. The editor of the *Free Trader,* William Osman, who also was a Democrat, broached the subject in this manner:

"Proposed Daily

"The *Little Giant,* having lived its day, a number of our business men, realizing the convenience of a daily paper in the city, have urged us to continue the publication of a daily.

"We have yielded so far to the solicitations as to make some effort—our proposition is to commence in the course of two or three weeks the publication of a *Daily Free Trader,* to be four columns larger than the *Giant* and to be printed on new type. Politics, to which the *Giant* was almost exclusively devoted, will in the new daily be measurably ignored and our effort will be to make it a good daily newspaper so as to take the place of the Chicago dailies for which such large sums are now paid by our citizens.

"We shall endeavor to give full daily telegraph reports, keep up a good local department and make it complete in giving the current events of the day. The price will be put at $5 a year, payable in advance. We propose during the coming week or two by ourselves or by an agent to canvass the city on the subject both for subscriptions and advertising, when we shall be able to report more positively in reference to the enterprise.

"William Osman"

## FROM THE WIGWAM

Here and there in 1865 a few early coming blue birds were inquiring of apartments in the farmer's rail fences where the ageless combination of time, decay and wind had rotted holes in the wood and left an opening just big enough for their needs when Postmaster C. B. King of Ottawa made his way to the telegraph office on business bent.

In the Carolinas Sherman's Union armies were slogging their way through mud and rain, through the green of springtime, past the

bodies of their comrades at the bridges and along the roads where the Confederates were making a rear guard stand on their way north and the end of the war.

King never got an answer to his telegram, so far as now known. He waited in vain from the time it was sent March 25, 1865.

It lay in a littered desk in an office in Washington waiting to be answered or it may have been pigeon holed as were many others as President Lincoln with the rest of an embittered and strife torn nation waited for the inevitable collapse of the rebellion and the end of the long conflict.

The sharp crack of the derringer in the hand of John Wilkes Booth on the terrible night of April 14, 1865, assured that the recipient would never answer the telegram of King in which he made a request to see the President about his appointment as postmaster at Ottawa which King had held for four years.

The date of appointment was to have been April 15, a day that found the north in mourning, found its people bewildered by the tragedy that had befallen them, found a thousand versions of what had taken place, found a new man in the White House, found the soldiers weeping, unabashed, in camp, and field and hospital, found the buildings in the north along the streets hastily draped in black, found knots of people on the street corners talking of the assassination, found farmers coming to town to be apprised for the first time of what had taken place in distant Washington the night before and early on the morning of April 15.

It found Joseph Dow, the newly named postmaster of Ottawa by appointment of Lincoln on April 11, 1865, one of his last such appointments.

King was one of the Ottawans who had been involved in the sensational freeing of Jim Gray, a slave, in the fall of 1859 and who had been indicted, convicted and fined a small sum for violation of the Fugitive Slave law in the fall of 1860 when the nation was engaged in the last stages of a bitter political campaign and was paying little attention to what had been a sensation a year before in the old town of Ottawa.

He was rewarded by the postmastership for his part in the political campaign of 1860 in which he had published *The Wigwam,* now one of the rarest of that extinct American institution of its time, the political campaign paper.

There are 10 issues of *The Wigwam* in the department of Lincolniana of Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, the gift of Carl W. Schaefer of Cleveland, Ohio.

The history of *The Wigwam* was dealt with in the quarterly publication of the *Lincoln Herald* in an article in the June 1945 issue by R. Gerald McMurtry, which follows:

"One thousand numbers of the first edition of *The Wigwam,* a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Republican party, were run off the press at Ottawa, Illinois, on July 18, 1860. C. B. King, the editor, announced in his first issue that his newspaper office was to be located over the postoffice (King later became postmaster), the terms were fifty cents a copy and that advertising rates would be accepted at regular rates. Copies of the newspaper were to appear every Wednesday, ' 'til after the presidential election.'

"The publication of this weekly Republican organ brought forth the courteous yet left-handed political thrust of William Osman (postmaster under President James Buchanan), the editor of the *Illinois Free Trader,* a strongly partisan organ on the other side of the political fence. In the issue of July 21, 1860, under the title 'The Wigwam,' Osman made the following comments: 'The publication of a Republican campaign paper under the name above has been commenced in this city by Claudius B. King, Esq. If the first number is a fair specimen of those to succeed it The Wigwam will prove a formidable campaigner. The editorials are ably, spiritedly, and yet courteously written. The publication of such a paper has been found a necessity, we presume, on account of the weak, wish-washy, character of the *Ottawa Republican* and for the same reason will no doubt be liberally supported by the Republicans of the county.

"The Republican's comment on its rival on the same day, July 21, 1860, was brief as was natural. T. Hampton, the editor, merely said under the heading of 'The Wigwam'; 'This is the title of a spirited

little campaign paper started in the city by Mr. C. B. King. Mr. King enters his business with zeal and we trust that his enterprise may be an aid to the Republican cause. The terms are fifty cents for the campaign.'

"It is believed after careful study of this file of newspapers that only sixteen numbers were published. The last number bears the date of October 31, 1860. The file in the department of Lincolniana consists of ten issues. Numbers 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, and 15 are missing. Number 2 through number 16 carries a different masthead from Number 1. A woodland scene is depicted with Lincoln and Hamlin in the role of the rail-splitters (Lincoln is wielding the maul and Hamlin is holding the wedge) in the act of dividing the Northern Democracy from the Southern Democracy. Every issue of this interesting newspaper carries in bold face type, one column wide, the 'Republican Nominations' with Lincoln's name heading the list. In addition to the Presidential Electoral Ticket, the State Ticket and County Ticket are prominently featured.

"Every number of *The Wigwam* carries political articles in praise of the Republicans while Democrats are held up to scorn. One article subjects Lincoln to the ordeal of these questions: 'Is he faithful to the Constitution?' Needless to say Lincoln passed the test. A considerable amount of national and state news having no political implications are to be found in the columns of *The Wigwam,* as well as the usual fillers and advertisements, one of which offers to sell to the public 'Lincoln hats made to order.'

"Historians may wonder why Ottawa could support two Republican newspapers during the presidential campaign of 1860. It is believed the *Republican,* founded in 1844, was a conservative political organ during these stirring times when an all-out Republican effort was being made to win the vote in LaSalle county—a community always considered to be a Democratic stronghold. Ottawa's geographical location at the confluence of the Fox and Illinois rivers was a determining factor in molding its political thought. Prior to 1848 virtually all of its commercial traffic was carried by river steamers on the Illinois, which in turn had come up the Mississippi. As would be expected the con-

struction of the Rock Island railroad between Ottawa and Chicago changed, to some extent, the political situation after 1853, as did the opening of the Illinois-Michigan canal in 1848, which provided a water route from Ottawa to Chicago for trade and travellers. Yet in spite of these new arteries of travel the town had strong southern leanings, which had not been broken at the time of the Presidential campaign of 1860.

"This file of *The Wigwam* is excessively rare. Up to date not a single copy has been located in the state of Illinois, and the newspaper is not listed in Scott's or Gregory's bibliographies of Illinois newspapers.

## STORM CLOUDS GATHER

Seed time in Illinois would come, when the corn would be dibbled in, and the time for gathering the seed corn for another year's crop would come in the shortening days of September, but there would be many a young, strong, farm hand missing after the bloody horror that was Chickamauga.

The time of the magnolias to bloom on the cotton plantations of Mississippi and the time for fox hunting in the fall would come and go but after the last gun and field piece had barked in the snowy shambles of Murfreesboro more than one great plantation would be left without an heir.

The Irish boy from south Boston, with ambitions to be a priest and serve his church, would not survive the charge up Mary's Height in gloomy December, 1862, but would find his narrow plot of earth, among so many others, among the rows of dead.

When the last muskets had echoed their sullen rumble and Vicksburg had surrendered the boy from the hills of Vermont, who wanted to be a physician, would lie among the dead, to be forever known only to his creator, not far from the tall, dark French speaking youth in gray, from the swamps of Louisiana. He, too, would lie for all time among the dead, whose identity was lost in the roar and grumble of

cannon and musket fire, of the thunder of cavalry charges and the deadly hand work with bayonets and fists and clubbed muskets.

And so the list of dead and of maimed, of the blind and the legless and the armless, of those who died of fever and smallpox and pneumonia in the prison camps and in the crude hospitals would grow and grow, month, on month, and year on year, until it seemed there would be no end to it and that before it was over every home in the land would be deep in sorrow.

The little towns in the midwest and those along the Atlantic coast, the old cities, the big cities, the strident noisy, bustling manufacturing towns would see their dead come back, would hear the parsons preach funeral sermons, one after another, for so many long years.

The family burial grounds on the plantations of the old south, would see the processions winding their way to the walled enclosure, would hear the measured tones of the family minister give the prayers for the dead and then, when the people had gone and it was nearing sun down, the Negro retainers would start the burial work among the dead, who had lain there a century or more.

The sea was to take its toll, too, along the coasts of the Carolinas, in the Gulf of Mexico, where the Confederacy had set up shore batteries to protect its scant amount of foreign commerce from the raids and attacks of the Union vessels of war.

The far west knew the rumble of battle and the Indians of the Oklahoma tribes were to be divided, with some to take on the Southern gray and others to lay down their lives in the Union blue.

Seed time and harvest time came and went and there was no end to it all, until fateful April of 1865, when the last shots were fired and the last of the dead were laid under the grass, the universal covering for beggar and king.

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**Boulder in Washington Park, Ottawa, which was dedicated in 1908 when the city observed the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. The boulder of red granite weighs about 22 tons and was hauled from a small creek about six miles north of Ottawa. The dedication ceremonies were in charge of Illini Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. One of the speakers was Stephen Douglas, a son of Douglas who had debated with Lincoln.**

*Front Cover Pictures:*

**Lincoln at Bearstown, Illinois in 1858.**
**By courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield.**

**Hitherto unpublished photograph of Stephen A. Douglas taken from an oil painting owned by Attorney Wayne C. Townley of Bloomington, Illinois, a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society and by whose permission it was furnished.**

**Bed in which Lincoln slept at the time of the debate with Douglas. It is still in the hands of the Glover family and is now owned and used by Mrs. Ralph Carley of 37 East Losey Street, Galesburg, by whose permission the photograph was furnished.**

**Third LaSalle county court house which was torn down in 1881. It stood two blocks south of Washington Park. This was the court house which served a double purpose from 1849 to the spring of 1860. It was used as a county court house and also for sessions of the Northern Grand Division of the Illinois Supreme Court, which had its other branches at Springfield, the State Capital, and at Mt. Vernon, deep in southern Illinois.**

**This was the court house in which Lincoln and Douglas and Stephen Logan were opposing counsel in a law case which the Supreme Court heard at the spring term of 1851. The court held for Douglas in the case, then scolded all the attorneys for their failure to present all the evidence in the case. Lincoln took the bulk of the censure, since he lost the case. Douglas had as co-counsel S. T. Logan. From the writer's own file of pictures of old Ottawa and his previous publication, "Lincoln's In Town," 1940.**

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